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[For the religious functions of the dabtara in the Ethiopian church, see category 793.]

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164 government has now made free injections available at "big
[744] markets" of provincial towns. Bedbugs are also prevalent, of the bloodsucking variety. They are considered a nuisance by the Amhara, but all that is done is to air the "alga" bed in the sunlight, which merely reduces the infestation temporarily. Flies are also abundant and very aggressive, so that a flyswitch ("cheraf") is kept in motion for comfort. Contagious diseases spread readily. Just after each rainy season, malarial mosquitoes have caused epidemics up to levels of 5,000 feet, on the shore of overflowing lakes and rivers.

511 In the majority of cases, some livestock is taken
[23] into the living hut (tuqul) everynight. The tuqul has, of course, an unwashable mud floor, no windows or chimney, soot-blackened ceiling, cobwebs in corners. There is no change of clothing at night, merely an added "kutta" or sheepskin, against the cold. Aside from drinking cups, there are no individual utensils.

164 Towns, including provincial towns, are centers for
[548] the spread of syphilis and other venereal diseases, due to the existence of entire streets of "women in-between marriages" who act as restauranteurs-prostitutes. When surface lesions appear, the native "wogasha" is consulted; or since the Italian invasion made the "needle" popular, the modern government medical personnel is approached. But patients usually cease to continue treatment when surface lesions disappear.[67]

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Eating "brundo", raw beef, at feasts, almost always leads to tapeworm and other taenia infestation. Fortunately

67. Guthe, Th: Venerial Disease in Ethiopia. W.H.O.Bulletin, Vol.2, 1949, pp. 85-138.

632 Since the town attracted the most clever "däbtära",
[799] many of whom were herbologists, it was also a center where "medical aid", sometimes quite effective, could be obtained, and attracted patients from far and wide.

[463] Ethnic craftsmen would settle in hamlets within walking distance of the town, to provide iron tools, tanned leather, sun umbrellas, etc., without, however, exposing themselves to mockery, insults and occasional assaults by living in the town itself.

632 517 The town developed as a social center, and center for entertainment, almost inevitably. First, religious feasts such as the Epiphany parades and the tournaments on the public commons on "ganna" (Christmas) attracted the populace; and youngsters as well as adult loafers found themarket scenes fascinating. Secndly, the Arab traders liked to discuss business and news over tea or
[265] coffee. So "teahouses " (shay bet") sprang up near the Saturday market, serving snacks also to many a male at odds with his wife, and excluding all womenfolk. Con-
632 648 versely, the mead house, ("tej bet") provided evening
588 entertainment with female singers and dancers (azmari) for the all-male clientele, and waitresses easily available for sexual entertainment. Moreover, every town had at least one "street of unattached women", who catered to travellers or visiting peasants as innkeepers, restaurateurs, and as temporary wives; they were usually divorcees, who hoped to find another husband, and to settle down again to regular married life.

632 178 Except for some of the feudal arrangements, most of this town pattern of social organization is still

633 the old Portuguese-type castles, even then in ruins.
[346] The new mosque, built through Italian encouragement during the occupation, overshadows both the big market and the old Muslim "ghetto" with the old mosque, at lower elevation.

563 624 The local Muslim "Qadi", ecclesiastical Muslim judge, regarded as their procvincial temporal chief, calls on the governor-general every Tuesday. Most Muslims have not moved far from their old section, partly because it is near the big market which is their economic as well as social gathering place, partly because they, almost as much as the ethnic artisans, wish to avoid insults, mockery, and quarrels with young members of the dominant majority.

● 759 743 In addition to being a center of public announcements, and the table of the judge for petty crimes, the market now also serves as center for the activities of modern "dressers". These medical auxiliaries set up their tables under one of the shady trees, their bottles, hypodermic needles, cotton wool, etc., clearly visible, with chairs for several patients, set apart by an enclosure of barbed wire. When an epidemic threatens, and [731] during and after it (e.g. typhus or spotted fever), the public can obtain free injections there, or call a dresser to come to their home for a small fee.

633 Each town is divided into administrative wards, sometimes called "qäbälē", but almost invariably named after the church located in it. Thus a person will say "I am from Medhanē Aläm" (church of the "Savior of the

756 to have, books handed down from past centuries, containing secret formulae, recipes, pharmacopeia of an intermingled empirical and magical nature. They warn inquirers that the public revelation of th these secrets would create great social dangers at the hands of the irresponsible.

171 In the days of ancient Egypt, Abyssinia was a supplier of materials for embalming, such as incense, myrrh, etc. It is therefore little wonder that much of Abyssinian medicine resembles that of ancient Egypt, e.g. the strong emphasis on purgatives used regularly.

753 The Amhara shares with peasants in many other parts of the world his belief in "strong" medicine, powerful in taste or heroic in effect or both. Since the Italian invasion, his belief in injections, which bring such miraculously quick results, has assumed magical proportions. Generally he distrusts and fears new medicines.

1. Healing the Body

A. The Surgeon-Herbologist-Empiricist ("woggesha"): Utilizing Nature.

● 759 Unlike the other medical practioners mentioned earlier, the woggesha does not try to dominate nature; he specializes in utilising what nature provides and in lending a helping hand. He is most often the first consulted, a kind of general practitioner, family doctor; and since he refrains from magical undertakings, he is neither feared nor suspected of witchcraft, which the other practioners, even the dabtara, often are.

Like the dabtara, the woggesha is often an expert herbologist, called "aqabi geray" (lit. who knows the work of nature). While walking in the bush, along brooks in the valley or in the "dega"

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

759 upland, he notices and remembers the location of plants and roots, which supply him with much of his pharmacopeia. His sense of direction is trained and therefore seems uncanny to the layman. Moreover, not infrequently he actually transplants certain wild plants, so that he can always find them; sufficiently far from residential habitations so that they are not easily found or consumed by cattle or playful boys. A good rule for distance is how far the crowing of a rooster [825 824] can be heard - for some plants are believed to lose their magical power if disturbed by this sound.

The "woggesha" usually learns his craft from his father, while serving him as apprentice. But at present the most popular "woggesha" in the town of Gondar is a well-known former bandit, who has gained an enviable reputation as a skilled surgeon. The "woggesha" is usually a diplomat in his human relations, much like the old-time Western family doctor. He usually tries to remain on good terms with the local church, and often invites the local dabtara to dinner at his house, especially on saints' days, to avoid their competitive hostility and to discuss some cases on a "professional" level.

In his capacity as surgeon, the "woggesha" sets fractures, cuts abscesses, pulls teeth (now with European pliers). But some of his [757] practices are severely condemned by European doctors who object particularly to the woggesha's frequent ripping out of part of the soft palate to cure tonsilitis and chronic sore throat, often causing blood poisoning. Nevertheless, the present government still permits the woggesha to function "in his own district", for otherwise most people would be left without any medical empiricist.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

000 The patient would recover anyway in due course.

758 The therapeutic value of convalescense ("ẍäzzam alä") is recognized, and patients are told to bask in the sunshine.

562 Men are more likely to let themselves be treated by the "woggesha";
756 women, who suffer more frequently from functional ailments, approach
757 the "dabtarä" or "zar" doctor more often and request magical aid.

844 When birth approaches, the midwife is called, almost never the woggesha. If he is, he may not touch the genital parts of the woman, and merely advises the midwife. When labor pains begin, the patient is given a drink of mashed linseed to "relax the birth tract" and to "lessen the pain". The newborn baby is annointed with butter (often rancid), and fed some of it.

● 759 Other medical helpers, apprentices, or modern "dressers" may be referred to as "healers" ("ẍawash"), "balä mädanit" (lit. medicine man, who knows empirical drugs and cures), "caretaker" ("astabaqi"), male nurse ("mogzit"), modern "dresser" ("astamami"). None of these are respected professions, for they are regarded as too close to manual labor, and such practitioners usually go to other provinces where their work will not shame the family. In recent years, the more skilled ones have been coming from Eritrea.

178 Modern change has been largely indirect and partial. The new
757 laws still permit the "woggesha" to function. Penicillin and other antibiotics can be purchased without a prescription at the big "Saturday markets", for as little as ETh$2.50 (US$1.-), and the patient simply buys it, takes it to a "dresser" in the nearest town, whom he pays 1/2 dollar Ethiopian (US 20 cents), to give the injection. When symptoms disappear, e.g. in syphilis, he believes himself cured.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

753 An important part of diagnosis is the decision whether an ailment is contagious ("fera") or not, and whether it is inherited, congenital ("quranna") or not. If inherited, marriages with such families are despised as not "attentam" (good stock), the same term used for descent from slaves or other "race" or both.

759 In general, the woggesha is most often called in organic ailments;
757 shares with the "dabtara" the practice of functional ailments; while the latter shares with the "zar" doctor the treatment of mental ailments.

2. Healing the Spirit

794 A. The "Zar" cult of supernatural spirits, its institution and cosmology.

755 One of the most complex developments of Amhara non-material culture, to which a great deal of mental ingenuity is devoted, is the healing of mental ailments. But this goes far beyond treatment and cure. The "zar" doctors do not limit themselves to treating some of the aforementioned mental ailments. They organise the afflicted, before, during and after "cure", into "zar" societies, which bear the earmarks of a religious cult, and to which the individual belongs henceforth until his or her (more often her) death. Here he finds the warm companionship of the fellow-afflicted; opportunity for expressive behavior; the religious feeling of having been of service; the personal attention of a personal possessive and protective spirit; and the visible leadership of the "zar" doctor who heads the organizational unit.

794 The zar doctor often a matriarch, differs only in degree from
756 her flock; for she, too, must be possessed, must be forever afflicted by spirits. But she has managed to learn to control them, call upon her more powerful protective spirits to aid her against evil spirits,

158 Sometimes cases of buda possession are brought in to the
159 government hospital at Gondar where two European physicians are in charge. They have diagnosed the shrieking, wildly beating type of case as "hysteria"; and the apathetic type of buda case as "catalepsy". In the latter case they have observed absence of reflex responses on eye and knee, almost no pulse, faint heart-beat, low blood pressure; sometimes a stupor in which the patient has no control over bowel movements and urinating. In severe cases of this kind there is a suspension of sensation and will, and muscles are so rigid that limbs keep any position they are placed in by the doctor.

755 In one memorable case, a hysteria patient, a man, had been gradually quieted by a Coptic Amhara priest called in by the European doctors at the hospital, who knew the effectiveness of this from past experience. All the priest had done was to hold the hand of the patient and quietly recite prayers in the Geez language, (which the lay patient could not understand). When the priest tired of this, the regular hospital priest was called in to continue this "treatment". But at sunrise the next morning the patient had disappeared out the window. The hospital "dressers" (male, semi-trained nurses) explained that the patient probably would go a long distance from this area, to escape the severe beating his kinfolk would give him - the "post-operative" treatment meted out to patients recovering from buda possession to "discourage the buda from returning".

755 In the rural areas the "tanqway" is still sometimes called
756 in to treat buda cases, though this is not his major specialty. He is what has been called a "witch-doctor", professional sorcerer, and diviner. He usually treats the patient by frightening the

114 Ethiopia. Eritrea and especially Italian Somaliland had been used by the School of Tropical Medicine in Bologna as a study ground, and to this was now added the much more varied and interesting field of Ethiopian nosography. The Italian studies, amounting to over 500, have been carefully analyzed by the U. S. Technical Project in Ethiopia. With few exceptions, especially in the field of malariology, the Italian work was careless, inexact, with a tendency to unwarranted generalizations.

While a number of excellent Italian physicians worked in East Africa, it would seem that, on the whole, publication was not encouraged unless it would further the Fascist cause. It would thus not be justified to judge Italian medical work here solely on the writings of the more politically minded party members. It does, however, remain a fact that, considering the very large group of medical men who worked in Ethiopia for over five years, we have precious little exact medical information about this country.

744 Today, the medical services of Ethiopia
● 759 are being reorganized. The Government is attempting to obtain the necessary medical personnel, build hospitals and carry out public health programs. It is still too early to judge any achievements. The problems are many and the Ethiopian Government is handicapped through the complete lack of native Ethiopian physicians. Such physicians will not be available for at least another decade.

114 During and after World War II, military authorities had reason to take an interest in Ethiopian nosography and a number of articles were published in this field; prominent among these was Manson-Bahr's "The Prevalent Diseases of Italian East Africa" (1941). The U. S. Technical Project had opportunity to make a number of its own studies and much of the following information is based on this work.

164 If one may speak of social diseases in the sense of diseases of immediate impor-

[p. 712]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

cultivate a missionary spirit in order to reach the non-Christian peoples of Ethiopia. The association sponsors weekly religious services, featuring hymns in Amharic and talks in Amharic on religious and moral questions, and publishes a monthly journal. The Orthodox Students Association stands out as the first nationwide voluntary association in Ethiopia. It holds an annual convention which draws some three hundred students from all parts of the country.

The Ethiopian College Students Association was established in 1960 after some years of patient maneuvering by officers of the various college student governments. It attempts to represent the interests and needs of students vis-à-vis the government and to handle relations with international student organizations.

A number of student clubs have appeared from time to time within the framework of the colleges. One of the most popular and productive of these has been the Ethnological Society of the University College, founded in the early fifties by a Polish member of the college staff. Over the years it has produced several issues of an ethnological bulletin. More recently, under the framework of the new university, dramatic and choral groups have been established as well as groups like the Education Students Association and the Economics Students Association. Graduates of some of the secondary schools and colleges, moreover, have formed a small number of alumni associations.

Labor Unions.—Although Ethiopia has for some time been a paying member of the ILO, the government has until recently strongly opposed the establishment of unions in the country. Nevertheless, due to the encouragement of labor representatives from Western and other African countries, as well as to the courageous efforts of a number of Ethiopians, several unions have at last been established and have won some degree of recognition from the government.* Trade unions were first attempted among employees of the Franco-Ethiopian Railroad and in Eritrea.[48] They now include employees of a number of factories. Even household servants have formed associations that establish minimal conditions which members are obliged to demand from their employers.

Professional Associations.—The Ethiopian Teachers Association, with a large paper membership but scarcely any activity, was the only professional association in Ethiopia prior to the 1960 rebellion. If one may generalize from the frustrated attempts of Ethiopian doctors to establish a medical association, it would seem that the government was attempting to discourage groups of this sort as well as trade unions. Since 1961, however, the picture has changed. There now exists not only a medical association, which publishes its own

* A law establishing a legal basis for labor unions was enacted by the Ethiopian parliament in 1962.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

journal, but also an engineers' association, a college teachers' association, and an Ethiopian writers' association. Earlier attempts to establish an organization of lawyers have not yet reached fruition.

National and International Service Organizations.—A final group of formal associations consists of those which include non-Ethiopian nationals as well as Ethiopians in their membership and which carry out welfare services of various sorts. The Ethiopian Red Cross, the Ethiopian Women's Welfare Association, the YMCA, and the Rotary Club of Addis Ababa have been active for more than a decade. More recently, the International Christian Fellowship was formed with an eye to discussing ways of translating Christian principles into social action, and the Social Service Society has broken new ground in the welfare field with its ambitious program of relocating and rehabilitating Addis Ababa indigents.

Informal Associations

Another significant sociological development since the 1960 rebellion has been the blossoming of what might be called "mutual confidence groups." Although the public climate remains somewhat tense and generalized suspicion still prevails, a step has been taken away from the complete atomism of the pre-rebellion era. These groups consist of numbers of friends, bound by such factors as kinship, common ethnic background, relationships formed during study abroad, and occupational ties. Perhaps the most important single bond underlying these groups derives from friendships formed during the crucial experience of attending secondary school together. While for the most part these groups carry out no organized activities or structured discussions, they do provide a context in which any of the issues of the day can be discussed with fairly complete frankness and without fear of reprisal.

There are some progressive Ethiopians who would like to see these groups become the nuclei of action groups and political parties, even on an overt basis. The prevailing view among them, however, seems to be that this is as far as they can go under the present regime.

The efflorescence of voluntary associations in Ethiopia during the past half dozen years constitutes a remarkable thickening of the fabric of Ethiopian society. It may be seen as a vast, unconscious process of arousing and co-ordinating energies to meet the novel realities of Ethiopia's current historical situation. What relationship to this collective process have the individualistic features of Amhara character and society which were discussed above?

It may be observed that in virtually none of the cases cited above were the Amhara the initiators of the associational forms in question. The territorial and "project" *mäkhebar* were introduced into Ethiopian life by the Gurage; so, as far as present evidence indicates, were the *eddïr* and the *equb*. The labor

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[For information on medical personnel, see category 116, pp. 23, 27-30, 33-43, 51-67, 70-92, 113-121, 132-137, 187, 191-193, 213, and 237-242.]